

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00  
SSO-00 INRE-00 HA-05 COME-00 ACDA-12 /080 W  
-----071896 010902Z /11

O R 010612Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5518  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USIA WASHDC  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 1669

FOR EUR/RPM (KORNBLUM) FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE OCON  
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, FEB 28, AFTERNOON  
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REF: BELGRADE 1654

SUMMARY: ALLIES INTRODUCED NATO CAUCUS SHORT, NON-SUBSTANTIVE  
DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IN AFTERNOON PLENARY, ROMANIAN REP  
COUNTERED WITH A NEW "SYNTHESIS" TEXT CONTAINING BITS AND PIECES  
OF FACTUAL AND GENERAL POLITICAL LANGUAGE PREVIOUSLY AGREED

PROVISIONALLY IN DRAFTING GROUPS, A FEW YUGOSLAV PAPER PARAGRAPHS, AND FIVE POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS. WITH STRONG VERBAL SUPPORT FROM MOST NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED AND ALSO SPANISH REP, ROMANIAN REP EMPHASIZED THAT POSITIVE ACTION ON FOLLOW-UP, INCLUDING SEVERAL EXPERT MEETINGS BEYOND THOSE TWO SPECIFICALLY MANDATED BY FINAL ACT, WAS BOTTOM-LINE REQUIREMENT. SOVITS SAT BACK AND ENJOYED WESTERN DISCOMFORT, MERELY POINTING OUT THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT OVER APPARENT DISAPPEARANCE OF YUGOSLAVE PAPER AND THEIR BELIEF THAT ROMANIAN TEXT OFFERED BETTER BASIS FOR DRAFTING THAN WESTERN PAPER. DANISH REP EXPLAINED ALLIED REASONING FOR INCLUDING ONLY TWO EXPERT MEETINGS BUT APPEARED TO HINT AT SOME FLEXIBILITY ON ADDITIONAL POST-BELGRADE ACTIVITY. END SUMMARY.

1. DANISH REP, SECONDED BY PORTUGUESE REP, INTRODUCED AS INFORMAL PAPER SHORT, NON-SUBSTANTIVE ALLIED DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. HE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT MORE COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED BECAUSE OF SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE BUT SAID THAT IN ABSENCE OF COMPREHENSIVE, BALANCED DOCUMENT, ALLIES BELIEVE NON-SUBSTANTIVE TEXT IS BEST WAY TO CLOSE MEETING WITH DIGNITY AND MAINTAIN CSCE PROCESS.

2. ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR LIPATTI COUNTERED BY CIRCULATING A NEW DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS NOT A ROMANIAN TEXT BUT A SYNTHESIS OF PORTIONS OF EARLIER TEXTS ON WHICH AGREEMENT SEEMED POSSIBLE. FULL TEXT OF ROMANIAN PAPER AND CONFIDENTIAL

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ANALYSIS OF ITS PARTS ARE TRANSMITTED SEPTEL. BASICALLY, HOWEVER, SIX PAGE DOCUMENT PICKS UP GENERAL FACTUAL AND POLITICAL LANGUAGE WORKED OUT IN DRAFTING GROUPS ON BASIS OF BM/65 AND INCLUDED IN SOVIET BM/70 SERIES. IT INCLUDES A FEW GENERAL PARAGRAPHS FROM YUGOSLAV PAPER INCLUDING LANGUAGE ON "DIFFERENT VIEWS EXPRESSED" AND "INSUFFICIENCIES" IN IMPLEMENTATION, BUT NOT PARAGRAPHS ON PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, DISARMAMENT AND SITUATION IN MEDITERRANEAN. AS CENTER PIECE, IT CONTAINS EXPERTS GROUPS ON MEDITERRANEAN, CBMS AND INFORMATION AS WELL AS FINAL ACT-MANDATED MEETINGS ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AD SCIENTIFIC FORUM. (MEDITERRANEAN MANDATE, INCIDENTALLY, IS MODIFIED TO DRAW IN MALTESE BY SUGGESTING POSSIBILITY THAT MEETING MIGHT CONSIDER POLITICAL/ SECURITY QUESTIONS, CMBS MEETING TITLE IS MODIFIED AS SUGGESTED BY SOVIETS TO COVER ALSO "CERTAIN ASPECTS OF SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT" AND INFORMATION MEETING MANDATE IS WEAKENED TO TEMPT SOVIETS.)

3. LIPATTI EMPHASIZED THAT DRAFT IS A MINIMUM "NOT A DESIRABLE TEXT BUT A BEARABLE ONE." HE SAID ROMANIAN DEL WOULD BE FLEXIBLE ON DRAFTING CHANGES DEALING WITH FORM BUT WOULD NOT COMPROMISE ON FUTURE OF CSCE WHICH, HE SAID, REQUIRED SUBSTANTIAL FOLLOW-

UP PROVISIONS.

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ACTION EUR-12

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O R 010612Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5519  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 1669

FOR EUR/RPM (KORNBLUM) FROM USDEL CSCE  
GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

4. AFTER PLENARY TURNED ITSELF INTO INFORMAL SESSION, ALL  
MAJOR NNA DELS EXCEPT FINLAND WHICH REMAINED SILENT LINED  
UP BEHIND IDEA THAT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT MUST HAVE SIGNIFICANT  
NUMBER OF EXPERTS GROUPS. YUGOSLAV REP STATED THAT ROMANIAN  
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PAPER REFLECTED HIS DEL'S VIEWS "TO A LARGE EXTENT", THAT DANISH PAPER WAS FAR BELOW ACCEPTABLE MINIMUM, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT DID NOT INCLUDE CBMS AND MEDITERRANEAN MEETINGS ON WHICH YUGOSLAV DEL WOULD INSIST.

5. MALTESE REP CRITICIZED WESTERN PAPER FOR IGNORING MEDITERRANEAN. HE SAID THAT CONSENSUS HAD BEEN EMERGING IN LAST WEEKS ON A MEDITERRANEAN MEETING AND THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR CONCLUDING DOCUMENT TO ESTABLISH ONE. HE INTRODUCED A NEW TEXT (SEPTTEL) WHICH, HE SAID, COULD BE CONSIDERED AMENDMENT TO WESTERN AND ROMANIAN PAPERS. MALTESE PROPOSAL REPRESENTS AT LEAST AN OPTICAL STEP BACK FROM DEMAND FOR PERMANENT MEDITERRANEAN COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH POLITICAL/ SECURITY PROBLEMS, BUT IT STILL INCLUDES MANDATE THAT WOULD PERMIT MEETING TO CONSIDER ALL PARTS OF MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION AND THUS BY IMPLICATION POLITICAL MATTERS.

6. FOLLOWING MALTESE EXAMPLE, SWISS REP INTRODUCED TEXT ON INFORMATION EXPERTS MEETING WHICH HE SAID COULD BE CONSIDERED AMENDMENT TO WESTERN AND ROMANIAN PAPERS. HE SAID WESTERN PAPER WAS DISAPPOINTMENT BECAUSE IT ENVISATED NO FORWARD MOVEMENT IN FOLLOW-UP, THAT SWISS DEL WOULD INSIST ON INFORMATION MEETING AND WAS ALSO SYMPATHETIC TO MEDITERRANEAN AND CBM GROUPS.

7. SWEDISH REP PURPORTED TO FIND GENERAL CONSENSUS IN TWO PAPERS ON POLITICAL COMPONENT OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND SAID THAT REAL DISAGREEMENT EXISTED ONLY ON EXTENT OF FOLLOW-UP. HE SAID HIS DEL ATTACHES PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO OBTAINING CBM EXPERT MEETING AND WAS ALSO SYMPATHETIC TO MEDITERRANENA AND INFORMATION GROUPS.

8. AUSTRIAN REP, IN SOMEWHAT MORE RESERVED TERMS, SAID THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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FOLLOW-UP PROVISIONS WERE NOW PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT, THAT HE BASICALLY AGREED WITH SWISS AND MALTESE PROPOSALS AND ALSO DIDN'T WANT TO SEE CBM PUSHED INTO BACKGROUND. CYPRIOT REP EXPRESSED SPECIAL INTEREST IN MEDITERRANEAN GROUP, AS DID SPANISH REP WHO SAID HE UNDERSTOOD STATEMENTS OF SPONSORS OF WESTERN DOCUMENT AS NOT EXCLUDING POSSIBILITY THAT FURTHER EXPERT MEETINGS COULD BE ADDED TO THEIR PAPER IF CONSENSUS COULD BE FORMED.

9. EASTERN SIDE ENJOYED DEBATE AND JOINED IN ONLY AT END. POLISH REP EXPRESSED PUZZLEMENT THAT "VERY GOOD NNA PAPER" (YUGOSLAV) CIRCULATED LAST WEEK HAD DISAPPEARED. SOVIET REP SAID THAT YUGOSLAV PAPER HAD OFFERED EXCELLENT BASIS FOR SHORT,

POSITIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT ALL DELS SEEMED TO WANT.  
HE SAID THAT ROMANIAN PAPER RATHER THAN WESTERN SHOULD BE BASIC  
TEXT ON WHICH CONFERENCE SHOULD NOW WORK BECAUSE IT CONTAINED  
MANY PROVISIONS OF YUGOSLAV PAPER AS WELL AS OTHER IDEAS ON  
WHICH CONSENSUS HAD VIRTUALLY BEEN ACHIEVED.

10. DANISH REP REPLIED TO NNA BARRAGE BY NOTING THAT HE HAD  
ALREADY EXPLAINED WHY IN CIRCUMSTANCES ALLIES THOUGHT ONLY TWO  
EXPERT GROUPS WERE POSSIBLE OR DESIRABLE. HE SAID THESE VIEWS  
WERE "STRONGLY HELD" BUT THAT "OF COURSE NO DOCUMENT IS IMMUNE  
FROM AMENDMENTS. WHILE WE HAVE FIRM FEELINGS, IF CONSENSUS IS  
REACHED WE CAN INCLUDE OTHER PROPOSALS, BUT SUCH CONSENSUS  
DOES NOT YET EXIST. HE SAID THAT TWO PAPERS CIRCULATED TODAY  
WOULD HAVE TO BE EQUAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE FOR EFFORT TO DRAFT  
COMMONLY AGREED TEXT. US REP EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR YUGOSLAV  
EFFORTS, BUT SAID THAT WESTERN AND ROMANIAN PAPERS SHOULD NOW  
BE EQUAL BASES FOR FUTURE DRAFTING WORK.

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O R 010612Z MAR 78  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BELGRADE 1669

FOR EUR/RPM (KORNBLUM) FROM USDEL CSCE  
GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

11. A FORMAL PLENARY SESSION HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR 1530  
MARCH 1, BUT PLENARY WILL ATTEMPT TO BEGIN DRAFTING IN INFORMAL  
SESSION AT 1030 ON BASIS OF WESTERN AND ROMANIAN PAPERS AS WELL  
AS SPECIALIZED MALTESE AND SWISS PROPOSALS. IT IS LIKELY THAT  
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SOVIET WILL PRESS HARD FOR AS MANY INFORMAL SESSIONS, INCLUDING  
EVENING SESSIONS, AS POSSIBLE WHILE ENJOYING WESTERN DISCOMFORT  
AT OPPOSING NNA POSITION ON EXPERT MEETINGS. WHEN NATO CAUCUS  
MEETS AT 1000 MARCH 1, KEY QUESTION IS LIKELY TO BE HOW MUCH  
POLITICAL CAPITAL WILL HAVE TO BE EXPENDED TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE  
OF OUR LIMITED VIEWS ON POST-BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY.  
AS INDICATED REFTTEL, AT LEAST A FEW ALLIES MAY BE  
CONSIDERING REQUESTING NEW INSTRUCTIONS IF YUGOSLAV-ROMANIAN-  
MALTESE-SWEDISH HARD CORE MAINTAINS ITS STAND FOR MORE  
THAN A DAY OR TWO.  
GOLDBERG

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
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